

Executive Registry

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR
LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA

CONFIDENTIAL

January 15, 1959

PERSONAL

Dear Robert:

I am sorry to be slow with the enclosed memorandum but, as you can appreciate, these are busy days all around.

Your visit here was most timely and extremely helpful to us in our handling of our visitors. Your presence at the Norman Chandler meeting was highly successful, and you handled yourself with cool and engaging skill, bringing a fund of accurate and reliable background information which was invaluable to the group. You made good friends for yourself and the Department, and I suggest you do this sort of thing throughout the country on every possible occasion.

It will be a pleasure to see you whenever I am in Washington and you are available.

With warm regards and every good wish,

Sincerely,

Enclosures

Mr. Robert Philip Terrill
Office of Economic Affairs
State Department
Washington, D. C.

cc: The Honorable Richard Nixon
Mr. Allen Dulles
Mr. Eric Johnston
Mr. Thomas Stephens
Mr. Robert Blum.
Mr. Brayton Wilbur
Professor Neumann

CONFIDENTIAL

University of California

Office of the Chancellor

Los Angeles Campus

January 14, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Impressions of Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier,
USSR, During His Recent Visit to Los Angeles

It is assumed that any reader of this memorandum has a full account of Mikoyan's answers to numerous questions which were put to him at the meetings where he spoke, as most of this interesting material was quite fully reported in the press.

I had the privilege of attending a dinner, a luncheon, and a seminar at UCLA. Also I rode in the car with the Minister and Ambassador Menshikov, with the interpreter, Troyanovski, sitting on the jump seat, with me between the two high officers. Mr. V. P. Bourdin, First Secretary of Foreign Affairs, sat with the driver.

General impression of His Excellency, the First Deputy Premier, Anastas Mikoyan In every situation in which I observed Mikoyan in response to every question, he was at ease, fully in command of himself, responding quickly and easily and often with wit and never without charm. All introductory remarks on these three occasions were fully attuned to his audience and were gracious words, well calculated to create a good impression and to relax the group and invite questions. His accomplished interpreter, Oleg Troyanovski, was so skillful that it was not long before you seemed to be almost unaware that you were not understanding Mikoyan in Russian. Only very occasionally did Troyanovski have to reach for a word which was sometimes, but only rarely, provided by other members of the party close by. And Mikoyan himself, when any such difficulty arose, would re-phrase or amplify his reply to help out, doing this without any evident feeling of annoyance. He was never at a loss for a reply of some sort. When the question dealt with a matter of high importance, he would reply at length, making a small and beautifully turned speech without giving the impression that the speech was in any way rehearsed or pat.

On every appropriate occasion he stressed the importance to his country of ending the cold war and instituting peace. His replies to questions growing out of his desire for expanded communications and contacts between American and Russian people as to why our telecommunications were being jammed were to the effect that we should return to the attitudes of the pre-cold war days when we reported accurately and did not incite listeners behind the Iron Curtain. He said by way of illustration that following Khrushchev's

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and Bulganin's visit to England there was a long period when BBC was not jammed until the Hungarian incident. BBC then became hoarse, as the Voice of America is all the time, not reflecting the true voice of America and Britain. His answer to questions about Boris Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago seemed to be the least satisfactory (as reported in the press). I did not hear these. In substance he said that though he had read parts of the book it was a long one - 700 pages - and was not worthwhile reading. His son's reaction was: if the Nobel Prize had not been given quotes "for political reasons," the book probably would be published in Russia today. Pasternak's poetry, said Serge, was beautiful.

The only time I observed some hardening in his attitude (at least this was my impression) occurred when I remarked, at the dinner meeting, in response to urging by Mr. Johnston, chairing the meeting, that if I sensed the attitude of the American people and the government with respect to cold war tensions, it could not be materially reduced until progress was made on both sides in testing each side's good faith on the German question of reunification. I added that we were perfectly well aware that this could only be dealt with real step by real step and not in one fell swoop of "free elections," and this was a good place, in my opinion, to begin. He obviously feels that the place to begin is Berlin which is really a separate question. He seemed quite sincere in stating that both sides should withdraw their troops from Berlin (he said they had one company there), these to be substituted by a commission, presumably of United Nations makeup, thus internationalizing the city, but the city to be run by the Berliners themselves. Presumably he feels that this is the way to begin in testing good faith on each side.

He has constantly emphasized the fact that Russia now being strong should be treated as an equal and that beginnings of tests of good faith and fidelity to agreements entered into should be undertaken.

Concerning the testing stations on both sides for the detection of atomic explosions, he indicated, as another illustration, his side's willingness to establish such stations, fifteen of them in Russia, should we agree to no more tests, but that the disarmament question was an integral part of any formula for bringing an armaments race and atomic military power under effective control.

In my opinion, directly, adroitly, persistently, Mikoyan is pressing the USSR's view of things but in the context of strength and what would seem to be a sincere effort to negotiate on equal terms. He is a business man and organizer of trade and perhaps sincere in his belief that progress can be made if the proper approaches and attitudes are assumed on each side of mutual respect and understanding of the existing conditions.

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As to the question of his impact on business and professional leadership groups in Los Angeles, I feel confident that no one was misled into supposing that America could now drop its guard and speedily move toward negotiated settlements and free communications, contacts and trade. However, I come back to the point that Mikoyan gives me a solid impression of recognition of the fact that public opinion among his people and ours seeking peaceful solutions is necessary by both governments. This can only be done a step at a time on the basis of give and take in negotiated situations. I return to the thought that they are asking for this in posing the Berlin question for discussion during the next few months, and I have the impression that this can be linked with the German question. Though he mentioned the desirability of withdrawal of troops in a neutralized zone on each side, he appreciates the difficulty of such a settlement in the light of West Germany's re-armament posture and their status in NATO. As a realist, he must recognize that this is the knottiest of all problems, and yet I cannot escape the thought that there is real eagerness to find a solution for East and West Germany because of the great liability of East Germany vis-a-vis USSR. I feel that in posing the Berlin question and giving our side time to think it over they are waiting for some kind of reasonable proposition on which they can negotiate without disturbing other East European USSR orbital states. Their attitude and posture in this respect generally is conditioned by broad strategic interests, as they see them, and the fact of their recognition of the concerns and worries of the Russian people themselves whose attitudes and opinions they consider and deal with, just as the governments of the West have to take public opinion into account in an even higher degree.

I do not think that the First Deputy will return to Russia and report that the leadership in Los Angeles is not behind the government and its policies. He will report, I am sure, that the leadership is friendly toward him personally and regards him as having ably represented the interests of the USSR. One of the hopeful elements in the total situation, and this applies to Chairman Khrushchev as well judging from reports of Western leaders who have talked with him, is that these government officials are men with a sense of humor who enjoy an exchange of wits and a neat turn of phrase and argument. When men of deeply differing beliefs can laugh at each other, even at the problem itself, there is reason for great hope because while taking their problems seriously, perhaps even occasionally too seriously, at least they don't take themselves as seriously.

My final general impression is that the obvious success and impact of Mikoyan indicates the very great importance of a visit to Russia soon by someone from this country - in my view, our second man, Richard Nixon who, like Mikoyan, is quick witted, and thinks and talks easily on his feet and extemporaneously in any kind of situation. Visiting in Russia in a private capacity, he would be received and afforded the run of the country, I feel

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confident, just as was the case here for Mikoyan. If this is to be done at all, it should be done soon.

Visit to UCLA

I went to the hotel, arriving at 9:15 and driven by my son, to greet the First Deputy in his apartments and join him in the retinue to UCLA. He received me graciously with no trace of disaffection growing out of our exchange the evening before. Our departure was delayed a moment or two when he greeted an Armenian couple who were eager to see him and take photographs. We proceeded to the campus, and at my suggestion, my son, Raymond, Jr., drove Mikoyan's son, Serge, to the campus. (He reported a good time, and they sang "The Volga Boatmen," and then my son had to leave him at UCLA to go to his work at Western Airlines. He reports that Serge seemed very disappointed that he could not stay with him longer. In other reports the reader has heard that Mikoyan said of his son that he was weaker than he because he had not come through the Revolution. Perhaps we can say somewhat the same about some of our sons in the West. They have not had to make sacrifices, except in war, and be toughened in the tough fights of the times. Chairman Khrushchev has remarked in his speech of April 18, 1958, to YCL that it is a good thing when the breath of life and living blows over an individual. Mikoyan evidently shares this view of growth and education in life.)

To return to the trip to UCLA the talk was general with me indicating points of interest, emphasizing the rapid growth of West Los Angeles, remarking on the extensive display advertising and indicating that this was an inherent ingredient of free enterprise in the capitalistic system. Mikoyan replied that they expected to do more advertising, especially as to quality and values in things for the state and the individual. In return, I remarked that advertising in this country was becoming more and more responsible and ethical, and made a further remark about the advertising inherent in their affairs - the permanent Agricultural and Industrial Exhibit in Moscow, which I had visited - being impressive in this regard, and adding that I was glad an agreement had been reached on an American pavilion in Moscow and a Russian pavilion here to display our wares. He nodded.

As we approached Westwood, I remarked that 35 years ago this region was rolling hills and bean fields with few inhabitants and that he would see the University with approaching maturity with dense population surrounding it and still growing. I gave details on the organization, administration and financing programs, future growth and some of the planning about UCLA. One question interested me - did we get any funds from private sources - and I said by all means and in large amounts, but that the basic support was state support. I gave figures on tuition fees, etc., for the average

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student which seemed to surprise him. We joked about the great population of automobiles and the byproduct of pollution. I said that they should watch this as their automobile population increased so that they wouldn't smother in smog, though we had no intention of doing so, and much research and progress in this regard was being made. I emphasized that smog was a byproduct of industrialization, and that the air had become part of the sewage drainage system.

On campus there were no incidents. The students, faculty and everyone who saw them seemed to be in good spirits, and people were eager, as we stopped here and there, to shake hands and smile. We proceeded by the back door from the parking lot by elevator to the second floor and my office where a number of my colleagues received us and where we sat for ten or fifteen minutes. I showed them an air view of the campus, pointing out where they were on the campus and other major points of interest for general orientation. He signed our guestbook and inquired about books lying on the low table near where we were sitting. Several dealt with East-West problems and all were University of California Press publications, mostly by scholars at the University. Notes were made of the titles, and I plan to send him a box of books that may be of interest to him. Some of the titles are listed below:

Tsarist Russia and Balkan Naturalization, by Charles Jelavich

Russian Far Eastern Policy, 1881-1904, by Andrew Malozemoff

World Peace Through World Law, by Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn

The Great Loochoo, by Clarence J. Glacken

Economic Development of Communist China, by Choh-Ming Li

The interest of every Russian I have ever met in books and education and the arts is striking and is a bond between these two great peoples.

The corridors were crowded with students, staff, reporters and photographers, but they made way easily as we proceeded down the stairs. I showed him the place on the stairs where you should never go on a holiday, and where I had slipped and fallen downstairs and cracked my left ankle some two weeks previously. I preceded the party by a few steps, escorted by our chief of police, Nick Janise, in a business suit, who is first-rate in cooperation with city police and others, with close ties to the students in maintaining proper conditions. As we walked across the street between the Administration Building and the Business Administration and Economics Building, there were many students, and we stopped once or twice so that students might shake his hand. He was always eager to do this and seemed attracted, as I am, to the coeds. We went promptly to the seminar room - an informal setting with tables - where some 60 faculty members, officers of the University and graduate students from business,

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economics, philosophy and other fields were assembled. We sat down at the table and the photographers and reporters crowded in - perhaps there were 150 people in the room.

I introduced the Minister and the Ambassador briefly. Mikoyan spoke easily and effectively for a few minutes remarking that he had most of his higher education in life and in revolution. He was obviously very much at home with intellectuals and got a good reception at all times. About thirty minutes of questions and answers occurred with the students really putting the toughies. Among these was, "Is philosophy taught in the universities"?, and his answer was that it is and that all systems are studied, the better to refute them with their philosophy. This brought an amused reaction. The city editor of the Daily Bruin, Carmel Simmons, a young Negro coed, asked about ownership of the press in Russia. Mikoyan replied that many agencies, including the government, party, trade-unions, etc., - all social organizations - had their own papers which were full of commentary and criticism.

Concerning decentralization of the economic order in Russia, that is, the question I had opened up the night before, which was not answered in detail then, was answered in more detail at this session. He pointed out that when things didn't work, new solutions were sought and that increasingly functions previously in the old order centrally controlled, and government bureaus were being transferred to social organizations such as trade unions, some of the housing, sports and cultural enterprises to appropriate organizations, etc.,. To a question on competitive elections he gave a case example of a Communist organization, to which he belonged where he lived, putting up some twenty-one candidates. (Two withdrew for health and other reasons with the approval of the meeting). Eleven individuals were elected to the executive, and the chairman was not among them. A chairman from an earlier time was re-elected. The secret election was accomplished by listing all of the names, and each voter crossed off those he didn't want. Those receiving the majority by this secret ballot were declared elected. There was a question from a professor about the Sinkiang Province-Mongolian border matter. Mikoyan assured his listeners that there was no problem. Red China had problems but it was making remarkable progress in industrialization.

Following the seminar the party went to the Western Data Processing Center, the new installation housing an IBM 709 computer. This was demonstrated and pictures were taken with Mikoyan showing interest and pleasure at the experience. On leaving the building I introduced him to Carmel Simmons, above-mentioned, and he took her to him with enthusiasm and walked away with his arm around her. Then we took our places in the motorcade, Mikoyan showing a little surprise that I would be riding downtown with them but no hesitancy in including me. We talked along the way, and I pointed out features of the California ranch house. He remarked at the fog that contained

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no smog that morning. We stopped briefly so that he could see the ocean, at least the first few feet of it, lapping on this part of the Pacific rim. We then proceeded to Perinos, east on Wilshire, arriving a few minutes late.

In the course of this trip when the conversation was general, I remarked that it looked as though I were going to go to Indonesia as a consultant for ICA to look at the university system. My purpose in mentioning this was the hope that I would not be bothered by any heckling from local Communists in Indonesia. I took occasion to mention the name of Rector Petrovsky of the University of Moscow after having ascertained that his illness, a heart attack, since I saw him in Moscow, had not disabled him and I was assured that he is back on the job. I indicated that I had invited him to visit us at UCLA but had had no reply. (Incidentally, President Frondizi of the University of Buenos Aires (brother of the President of the Argentine) came to campus the following day for a visit, and among other things, told me that he had been invited by Rector Petrovsky to visit the University of Moscow and Russian universities for six weeks soon and he planned to go. I urged him to do so and talked with him about my impressions). I also gave the names of a few people I met at the First Moscow Medical School and the Vishnevsky Institute. Bourdin took notes on this and assured me that greetings would be extended.

I told them that I was eager to return to Russia for a longer stay when I could get away and when it would be convenient all around. He expressed enthusiasm that this might be possible. I added that naturally I would be interested in meeting other officers of the government, education and in leadership positions in Soviet Russia, including Chairman Khrushchev.

I should have mentioned above that, as with all foreign visitors, I provided the party with three or four packets of material - catalogues, bulletins, etc., and had placed in them the United States and Africa paper of the Western Regional Assembly of last fall - a good document including excerpts of Assistant Secretary Satterthwaite's excellent paper on that occasion. I also included a recent paper of mine for the Institute of World Affairs at Pasadena entitled, "The Real Strategic Weapon: American-Russian Education Compared." Copies are enclosed. Enclosed also is a copy of an interesting letter from a woman, Katrina Shevelyova, who was with the Beryozka Russian Folk Ballet which was in Los Angeles recently.

The luncheon meeting was handled very well and humorously by Robert Minckler. I sat with some Chamber of Commerce people and Ambassador Menshikov. Our conversation was general, interesting and produced considerable laughter.

I won't report any detail on the questions which were few and

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dealt with (1) the Berlin question (Neumann), (2) communications and jamming (Leslie Hoffman), (3) disarmament (Edwin Pauley) and a few others which were of less significance and produced nothing new.

As was to be expected, Ambassador Menshikov throughout Mikoyan's visit followed his lead, stayed in the background, and seemed to be slightly more reserved and withdrawn, at least so I thought, than was indicated. He did not at any time, however, appear to be worried or tense. At the Johnston dinner I sat next to Mr. Soldatov who was quite at ease, seemed to have a scholarly outlook on problems of foreign policy and was a real professional. We spoke of the early revolutionary history of the United States, and I emphasized our anti-colonial historical position to which he did not dissent. Mr. Bourdin, at the beginning of his visit here, seemed to hold himself in the background, but as the visit extended, he came more to the foreground and exhibited a smiling face frequently and successfully played his role without obtrusiveness.

In conclusion I should report a dinner table conversation at the Johnston dinner which I began by telling Mikoyan that I had observed his pictures for many years and noted that he had aged but little. By this time Eric Johnston was listening, and I said, "Eric seems to have the same secret," and I asked what the secret was. No one said anything immediately. Then I said that perhaps the most important consideration is for an individual to like his work very much, to enjoy it. The Minister promptly agreed to this and added that one should have optimism and hope. It was noted by all that optimism in Russian is the English word. Then I said perhaps it was important too for an individual to apply himself to each day's work vigorously, thinking of tomorrow as one worked, and forgetting the mistakes of the past and before I could add "as far as possible," the Minister said, "But there are mistakes that can't be forgotten." All of this, as I reflect on it, seemed to be quite an interesting exchange.

R. B. Allen
Chancellor